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COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES

Part IV
Demonstrations

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PREFACE

This monograph is the fourth in a series of exhaustive studies on communist propaganda in the United States during the period from 1919, when the Communist Party, USA, was established, to the present.

The channels for the dissemination of communist propaganda are many and varied. Every form and medium of communication devised by man has been relied upon by communist propagandists and agitators to reach and influence the American people.

This monograph is devoted to demonstrations, one of the most important media employed by American communists in their propaganda and agitation work. Other vehicles of propaganda will be discussed in succeeding volumes.

The material in this monograph has been drawn from both public and confidential sources. The public sources are identified at the end of the monograph, while the confidential sources have been retained by this Bureau.

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

Demonstrations are public gatherings or mass activity by which communists endeavor to incite, influence, and involve a maximum number of people. They constitute one of the most important and effective channels of communist propaganda and agitation. Every communist demonstration is calculated and devised to arouse, influence, and manipulate public opinion in the furtherance of communist goals. The history of the Communist Party, USA, is one of systematic, persistent, and ceaseless use of demonstrations for propaganda effect.

B. Conclusions

1. Demonstrations serve as invaluable vehicles for spreading communist propaganda and exerting pressure for the cause of communism.

2. Undoubtedly, the Communist Party, USA, has devoted more time, thought, and emphasis to demonstrations and used them more effectively and more advantageously than any other organization in the history of our Nation.

3. Through the use of demonstrations, communists have been able to influence the American people, win sympathizers, and gain new members for the Communist Party.

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4. The Communist Party, USA, views demonstrations as necessary and useful training and experience for its members in arousing and preparing the masses for eventual revolutionary action to overthrow the United States Government.

5. Every social, economic, or political issue or grievance which can be exploited in any way, through propaganda and agitation, affords communists opportunities for demonstrations.

6. Demonstrations are initiated, planned, and organized by communists to attract and activate as many people as possible in order to achieve the greatest propaganda effect.

7. Outdoor demonstrations are the most militant medium for communist agitation and propaganda. They include such open-air displays as rallies, parades, marches, strikes, picket lines, delegations, solicitations, and boycotts.

8. Communist outdoor demonstrations frequently involve thousands of participants, many of them noncommunists, and sometimes provoke extreme violence.

9. Communist indoor demonstrations, such as mass meetings, debates, lectures, trials, and public hearings, while less militant and involving fewer people than open-air demonstrations, are important outlets for the propagation of communist doctrines, policies, and programs.

10. Communists direct a variety of communications to public officials and the noncommunist press to voice their protests and demands and to generate pressure in support of communist campaigns. These communications include telegrams, letters, post cards, petitions, statements, and resolutions.

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I. PURPOSES OF DEMONSTRATIONS

Since publicity is the essence of propaganda, communists, as a matter of course, have taken to conducting demonstrations. The Communist Party, USA, undoubtedly has given more time, thought, and energy to demonstrations and used them more effectively and more profitably than any other organization in the history of our country. No organization has so systematically, insistently, and patiently strived to incite the American people to demonstrate in such a variety of ways and for such a variety of purposes as has the Communist Party.

Every communist demonstration is conceived, planned, and executed to arouse and affect public opinion in order to further communist aims and objectives. Communists play upon mass psychology. They believe that if a number of people can be influenced and activated, other nonparticipants will be influenced and persuaded to join them.

The importance and purpose of demonstrations were first stressed by communists in 1919 in the manifesto and program of the Communist Party, USA:

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"... Mass action, in the form of... demonstrations, unites the energy and forces of the proletariat, brings proletarian mass pressure upon the bourgeois state. The more general and conscious mass action becomes, the more it becomes political mass action. Mass action is responsible to life itself, the form of aggressive proletarian struggle under Imperialism. Out of this struggle develops revolutionary mass action, the means for the proletarian conquest of power." (1)

To communists, demonstrations are supremely important because of the benefits realized from them. Demonstrations serve to gain publicity for communists and enable them to spread their propaganda and to exert pressure for the cause of communism. Demonstrations permit them to disseminate literature and to collect funds. Demonstrations provide opportunities for influencing the public, winning sympathizers, and gaining new members for the Communist Party. But above and beyond these benefits, demonstrations give Communist Party members a needed experience under fire which they feel will stand them in good stead in the event they achieve their goal of precipitating a communist revolution in the United States. Therein lies the reason for the extensive use of demonstrations by the Communist Party, USA, as weapons of propaganda and agitation.

All demonstrations and other forms of mass activity are regarded by communists as small-scale maneuvers for eventual revolution. Communists are confident that, under propitious circumstances, they

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conceivably could turn one demonstration into an endless series of carefully spaced and integrated riots. In this manner, the stage would be set for the achievement of their goal--the overthrow of the United States Government by force or violence and the creation, in its place, of a Soviet America.

Any immediate social, economic, or political issue or grievance, large or small, which can be exploited in any way to serve communist ends, furnishes communists an occasion for a demonstration. Every demonstration planned by communists is formulated with the view of attracting and arousing not only Communist Party members but also as many noncommunists as possible.

As far back as 1925, American communists were directed by the Communist International* to "take to the streets." (2) It was not until the deepening of the Depression of the 1930's, however, that the Communist Party, USA, began to make full and wide use of demonstrations. Between 1930

*The Communist International, or the Comintern, as it was generally called, was established in 1919 as a union of communist parties throughout the world. Admission to the Comintern was contingent upon the acceptance of 21 conditions. The Communist Party in the United States became an affiliate in 1921 but disaffiliated in 1940. The Comintern was formally dissolved in 1943 as an ostensible gesture of "friendship" between the Soviet Union and its World War II allies. The basic principles and objectives of the Comintern, however, are still in effect and are closely adhered to today by the Communist Party, USA.

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and 1934, communists organized, led, or participated in more than 2,000 mass demonstrations in Chicago alone. Each of these mass gatherings was called in the name of certain political, economic, or social issues. (3)

Communists are inclined to regard demonstrations as a right rather than a privilege. When police permits are denied to communist organizations, the commissioner of police and other city officials are usually deluged with and harassed by written communications and telephone calls demanding that these groups be granted their "constitutional rights." Frequently communists proceed to hold their demonstrations anyway. When the police intervene and make arrests--as communists fully expect--there is a further outcry against "Gestapo" police methods. No matter what the outcome of a demonstration is, communists try to realize as much publicity as possible.

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II. FORMS OF DEMONSTRATIONS

The forms of demonstrations are many and varied. Generally speaking, any public gathering or mass activity by which communists attempt to incite, influence, and involve a maximum number of people can be called a demonstration. Thus, demonstrations can range from marches, parades, or meetings involving thousands of people to social functions where only a score or more persons are in attendance. By the same token, telegram, letter, and post card campaigns instigated by communists to pressure public officials can also be classified as demonstrations.

A. Outdoor Demonstrations

Outdoor demonstrations are the most militant channels of mass appeal and, for this reason, are among the most effective vehicles of communist agitation and propaganda. The absence of an enclosure appears to have a distinct psychological effect on those participating in a demonstration. The lack of four walls generally tends to invite a spontaneity and freedom of expression and action.

Although large open-air demonstrations sponsored by communists sometimes give the impression of being spontaneous gatherings, most of

them are carefully planned and organized to achieve the greatest propaganda effect. The paramount objective, of course, is to attract and activate as many people as possible.

Outdoor demonstrations consist of such open-air displays as rallies, parades, marches, strikes, picket lines, delegations, solicitations, and boycotts.

1. Mass Rallies

Outdoor mass rallies have always been very popular with communists. Detailed preparations are made for such affairs, including a site, police permit, publicity, speakers, entertainment, decorations, supplies of literature for sale or distribution, facilities for the collection of money, et cetera.

The site is selected on the basis of potential capacity. Such areas as Union Square in New York City, Washington Park in Chicago, and Pershing Square in Los Angeles have long been favorite locations for communist open-air rallies.

Most outdoor rallies are scheduled for about eight o'clock in the evening. Frequently, however, a time between 5 and 6 P. M. is chosen so as to attract homeward-bound workers.

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A time limitation of two and one-half hours is normally set for the program. Not more than four or five speakers are ordinarily scheduled. The main speaker is usually iimited to 20 or 30 minutes, and other speakers, to 10 or 15 minutes.

Entertainment is relied upon to relieve the monotony of continual speaking. Entertainers include singers or dancers. Sometimes sketches are given. All entertainment contains some theme of "social protest" to emphasize the never-ending "class struggle."

A question-and-answer period is often part of such rallies. Besides giving the audience a sense of participation, this period is designed to "enlighten" those present on the Communist Party's position and to win the sympathy of as many persons as possible.

During the course of most rallies, communist literature is made available for distribution or sale. Party members circulate among the crowd giving away or selling communist newspapers and one or two pamphlets. The collection of money is also an integral part of rallies.

The problem of hecklers is a constant one at communist rallies. This is solved by having "comrades" located strategically around the speaker's platform and among the crowd to cope with any disturbances or troublesome elements.

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An open-air affair which elicited widespread publicity -- the sort that communists revel in and thrive on -- occurred September 4, 1949, on an old golf course near Peekskill, New York, some 35 miles north of New York City. This locale had been the scene of a small riot a week earlier -- August 27, 1949 -- after a concert by Paul Robeson, the noted Negro singer. Robeson is reported to be a member of the Communist Party. The concert was given for the benefit of the Harlem chapter of the Civil Rights Congress, * a communist front organization. When noncommunist veterans' groups paraded and picketed the concert, open violence ensued.

The second outdoor concert, called in retribution, was scheduled for Sunday afternoon, September 4. Once again, it involved the appearance of Robeson, and once again noncommunist veterans' groups -- as communists had anticipated and desired -- planned a second protest parade and picketing. One thousand male comrades were ordered by the Communist Party to be present at the grounds by 8 A. M., this force to be augmented by 1,000 more in the afternoon. By the time the concert began, a cordon of communist "guards" ringed the area to "protect" the audience. Under cover of sports and picnic equipment, effective lethal weapons had been amassed. A huge quantity of baseball bats, as well as golf clubs, wrenches, and numerous cases of soft drinks -- issued with the intention of utilizing the bottles as weapons -- made up the communist arsenal.

*See Appendix for citation.

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The concert took place without incident, but when 1,000 anti-Robeson demonstrators attempted to bar the exits of the grounds at the conclusion of the concert, they clashed with 15,000 Robeson adherents. Two hundred and fifty state troopers, 100 regular and special police from the Peekskill Police Department, and 550 police officers from 35 nearby communities were on hand to control the situation. In the riot which took place, 145 individuals were injured, half a dozen seriously, and 12 others were arrested.

One source observed that this demonstration was specifically arranged to serve as a test to determine how well and how rapidly the Communist Party could mobilize its forces for mass action. Communist propagandists were elated with their success. They characterized the demonstration as an extremely important "victory" because it showed the "militancy" and "fighting spirit" of the workers in the "struggle against fascism."

Communists often instigate a series of related demonstrations to focus attention on and to arouse the public concerning a specific issue or grievance. Illustrative of a number of integrated demonstrations were

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those that occurred in the Winter of 1945-1946. With the end of World War II, American communists exploited to the fullest the "We-want-to-go-home" sentiment voiced by servicemen overseas. Communists began an agitation and propaganda campaign calculated to compel the withdrawal and demobilization of American troops stationed in all parts of the world where their presence might counter the imperialist designs of Russian and Chinese communists.

In December, 1945, communists organized and led, in New York City, Detroit, San Francisco, and other metropolitan areas, mass rallies protesting that servicemen ready for demobilization were being retained unnecessarily. Communists spurred the demobilization campaign through numerous mass meetings and parades, through the communist press, advertisements in noncommunist newspapers, and petitions, and through telegram, letter, and post card campaigns to congressmen, Government officials, and the President.

The climax of the demobilization drive was reached early in January, 1946, when demonstrations took place in Manila and spread to Korea, Japan, Hawaii, Guam, Paris, Le Havre, Vienna, and Frankfort on the Main -- almost all major overseas stations and bases where American

forces were carrying out garrison duties and occupation commitments. Communist servicemen were in the forefront of these demonstrations. At mass rallies at Fort Shafter and Hickam Field in Hawaii, for instance, it was ascertained that young communists stationed there had led the protest meetings. The situation had become almost chaotic when General Dwight D. Eisenhower, then Chief of Staff, issued an order in mid-January, 1946, banning all future demonstrations.

While it is true that many American GI's overseas were bored, disgruntled, and homesick after V-J Day and naturally expressed a keen desire to come home and get out of uniform, the fact remains that communists played no small role in helping them to give vent to their feelings. There is little doubt that communist agitators and propagandists materially contributed to the going-home sentiment which spread like wildfire throughout the services and led to a drastic demobilization. High military authorities repeatedly warned of the danger inherent in such a rapid weakening of our armed strength in the immediate postwar era.

Communists are ever ready to organize a demonstration at the slightest provocation. A case in point involves John Gates, one of eleven

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communist leaders who were convicted in the famous Smith Act* trial in New York City in 1949. During the course of that trial, Gates was jailed for 30 days for contempt of court. A demonstration was planned by the Civil Rights Congress to follow his expected release from the Federal House of Detention in New York City at 7 A. M., July 2, 1949. On being discharged at midnight -- seven hours early -- Gates complained that prison authorities had played a "dirty trick" to avoid a demonstration. However, Gates returned to the Federal House of Detention at 7:45 A. M. to greet communist demonstrators who had assembled outside the building.

2. Street Corner Rallies

Communists endeavor to carry their message directly to the people through the media of street corner, shop gate, and mill gate rallies. These are informal communist gatherings on specific street corners or at the gates of plants and mills where communist speakers try, on a more individual and selective basis, to reach the workers. Although these rallies may appear to be impromptu, actually, like all other Party demonstrations, extensive preparations are made to insure their success.

*The Smith Act, which was passed by Congress in 1940, makes it unlawful for anyone to knowingly teach and advocate the duty and necessity of overthrowing and destroying the United States Government by force or violence.

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In order to attract as large an audience as possible, the time element in rallies of this nature is an important consideration. Street corner rallies are held at noon or between the hours of 5 and 6 P. M., when the largest number of people will be on the streets. Shop gate and mill gate rallies are held at noontime, or between 5 and 6 P. M., or during a change in work shifts.

Speakers talk informally and in a down-to-earth manner on some issue or grievance of immediate and primary concern to the particular audience. Speakers promote the communist press, encourage listeners to remain after the rally for personal discussion, and sometimes appeal to them to join the Communist Party. Songs, music, and skits are relied upon to enlarge the crowd and retain its interest. These rallies present opportunities for the distribution or sale of Party literature and for obtaining signatures to petitions, telegrams, or letters.

On Mother's Day, 1950, communists in Brooklyn conducted 18 street corner rallies at which signatures were collected to a petition, sponsored by a communist front organization, demanding that the atom bomb be outlawed. In May, 1956, a street corner rally was held in Harlem to

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welcome back Benjamin J. Davis, a Negro communist leader who had just completed a prison sentence for violating the Smith Act. The rally, which drew 1,000 persons, was conducted under the auspices of a communist front group.

3. Parades

Communists have not neglected the parade in their efforts to sway men's minds. It is not difficult to understand the reason for the Communist Party's use of this medium as a potent instrument of propaganda. Parades serve to demonstrate the popularity of the communist movement to onlookers and help to reinforce the enthusiasm of the marchers. As one former communist leader has put it, the parade displays "the manpower, the heart and soul, the fanatic fire" of the communist movement. (4)

All of the usual paraphernalia of a parade are employed by communists to express their hatred for capitalism and their dedication to communism. Interspersed with brass bands and flags are singing, slogan-shouting lines of marchers. Floats, banners, placards, and pennants containing communist slogans, protests, and demands are carried. Costumed marchers perform skits commemorating communist heroes or

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ridiculing their enemies. Effigies of public figures detested by communists and portraits of revered deceased communist leaders are prominently displayed. A contingent or two of children are an invariable feature of a communist parade.

In the 1920's and 1930's, communist parades were held during election campaigns in which the Communist Party had put up tickets. Torchlight parades frequently preceded election rallies where communist candidates were the speakers.

By far the biggest and most important communist celebration of the year is May Day. It is on this day that the Communist Party sends out the faithful to exhibit their strength and militancy. May Day, in the words of the communists, is:

> "...the day when the American worker who understands that the capitalist system has long outlived its usefulness raises his banners to the sunlight and challenges that system with its economic crises, its insecurity, poverty, unemployment and wars.
>
> "The American Communists love this day. They are proud to be part of the working class which gave birth to this yearly demonstration of the solidarity of all men who labor." (5)

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Until the advent of the "cold war" of recent years, communist May Day celebrations were highlighted by huge parades in all the major cities throughout the United States, with the largest one taking place in New York City -- the center of American communism. In the 1937 May Day celebrations, for instance, 200,000 paraded in New York City, while 20,000 attended a mass meeting in Madison Square Garden; 25,000 marched in Chicago and 50,000 took part in demonstrations; 30,000 participated in a parade and a mass meeting in Philadelphia.

In past May Day parades in New York City, unsuspecting spectators were unaware that the ranks of the paraders were swelled in an ingenious manner. Many of the early participants would march the entire parade route, then board subways and return to the starting point to march again.

In the years following World War II, a prominent feature of May Day parades became the veterans' contingent, composed of communist men and women who had served in the Armed Forces of the United States in World Wars I and II. Many of them would wear their old uniforms. Former officers would bark "marching orders."

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In the last few years, because of police denials of parade permits, the annual communist May Day parades and celebrations have been reduced to rallies. The 1957 May Day celebrations were confined to a few comparatively small indoor mass meetings in New York City, Chicago, and elsewhere, at which prominent communists were the principal speakers. The hall in New York City was decorated with banners carrying the following slogans: "End Segregation -- Enforce the Constitution," "Restore the Bill of Rights," "Ban Nuclear Weapons -- Stop the Tests Now," and "Withdraw Troops of All Nations from Other People's Countries."

4. Marches

A march is a movement of hundreds or thousands of people toward a predetermined destination -- usually a governing body -- in which agitation and even violence are often resorted to in an effort to dramatize a specific protest, demand, or grievance. Municipal, state, and Federal bodies and officials have been plagued many times -- especially in the turbulent 1930's -- by communist-instigated marches.

The communist-led unemployed, hunger, and bonus marches of the early 1930's are sober testimony of the dangerous ability of communists to mobilize and activate, through agitation and propaganda, huge masses of

The Original Thing Library

noncommunists for communist ends. The marches of this period were of enormous propaganda value to the American communist movement. In these demonstrations, communists tried to prove to American workers that only communists and the Communist Party were genuinely concerned with the plight of the unemployed and were ready, willing, and able to provide the necessary leadership to alleviate their unfortunate condition.

In January, 1930, the Comintern issued a call to communist parties to organize world-wide revolutionary demonstrations of the unemployed on March 6, 1930. It is reported that the Comintern sent a special emissary to the United States to direct preparations for the demonstrations in this country. The central demand for the demonstrations was for jobs, relief, and unemployment insurance.

On March 6, several hundred thousand people took part in demonstrations in New York City, Philadelphia, Boston, Washington, D. C., Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, Denver, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and other cities throughout the Nation. Demonstrators descended upon the White House, state capitols, city halls, courthouses, and welfare agencies demanding relief. They carried placards and banners containing incendiary communist slogans and shouted diatribes against the capitalist system and the government.

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In New York City, 35,000 persons gathered in and about Union Square, the scene of countless communist demonstrations and rallies. Inflammatory speeches by communist leaders exhorted the crowd to march to City Hall and demand a hearing from Mayor James J. Walker. Within a matter of minutes, the orderly crowd was transformed into a raging mob. Soon, several thousand started to march to City Hall, two miles away. The arrest by police of a number of the communist leaders as they approached City Hall finally brought about order.

The majority of the people involved in the demonstrations of March 6 were motivated by their fervent desire to protest against the burdens that unemployment had created for them, but, knowingly or unknowingly, they were easy victims for exploitation by the skilled communist revolutionaries who led them.

Communist-directed unemployed demonstrations did not subside after the general demonstrations of March 6. They continued almost daily for some time all over the country on a local and neighborhood basis. Demonstrations were held in front of government buildings, welfare agencies, and the offices of large corporations, in public squares, and at factory gates.

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When a number of demonstrators were arrested, the communists proceeded to make propaganda capital out of the arrests. Communists packed the courtroom, where they expressed their contempt for both the judge and the prosecutor. Communist witnesses harangued the police and denounced "capitalist justice." Communist lawyers were far more concerned with the propaganda aspects of their cases than with the defense of their clients.

It was during the unemployment demonstrations of the early 1930's that American communists, under orders from Moscow, organized a specially trained defense corps for use in outdoor demonstrations.

Among other things, members of this defense corps were specifically taught how to fight the police. They were shown how to hit the leg of a horse with a stick or bar to cause the frightened animal to bolt and throw the mounted policeman. Women were instructed to carry long pins in their hats with which to jab horses, policemen, and detectives in the milling crowds. All of this was intended to infuriate the police, goad them into retaliation, and compel them to resort to strong measures in quelling the rioters. Communists calculated that such measures would cause people to turn against law enforcement agencies.

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To add to the pandemonium of demonstrations and riots, communist women were taught how to yell and scream hysterically and to fall into an assumed faint. Strategically stationed among the demonstrators were comrades who directed the demonstrations. They were thoroughly schooled in the psychology of handling crowds, knowing how and when to incite them into wild and violent action against the police.

First-aid stations were sometimes set up by communists. Injured demonstrators were picked up and taken to these stations, where they were treated by communist doctors and nurses. (6)

Another march which occurred during this period was known as the National Hunger March. In December, 1931, some 3,000 marchers arrived in Washington, D. C., by truck and automobile, incongruously enough. Accompanied by a brass band attired in uniforms resembling those of the Red army, marchers sang the "Internationale" on the Capitol Grounds. They chanted such slogans as "Down with Charity, We Want Security," "Long Live the Solidarity of the Negro and White Workers," and "Long Live the Soviet Union."

The hard core of this invading army was communist, but -- as is true of most communist marches -- the majority of those who had been

The Fund for Constitutional Liberty

recruited into the march were not communists. Communists had organized the marchers in such places as Seattle, Washington; Toledo, Ohio; New York City; Providence, Rhode Island; Binghamton, New York; and Gastonia, North Carolina. Communists had raised the money to defray the costs of transportation.

On the arrival of the marchers in Washington, D. C., the police arranged food and shelter for them and granted them authority to parade through the city and to the Capitol. But they were restrained when they attempted to present Congress and President Herbert Hoover with their demands for Federal guarantees of employment and the enactment of national unemployment insurance legislation. When the march ended, the leader promised that there would soon be another march on Washington.

Exactly a year later, in December, 1932, the promise was fulfilled when another group of 3,000 marchers journeyed to Washington. But this time, the atmosphere was somewhat different. The marchers were forced by the police to camp alongside their trucks and automobiles at the Maryland line for two days. Then, after they had been allowed to come into the city for a parade, they were halted two blocks from the Capitol. Twenty of them were allowed to present petitions to Congress.

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Among the slogans the marchers shouted and carried on placards on this second trip were the following: "We Demand Unemployed Insurance," "Tax the Rich and Feed the Poor," "We Want Bread, Not Beer," "Heroes in 1917 -- Criminals in 1932," and "Workers, Fight, Don't Starve."

To the extreme disappointment of the expectant communist leaders, plans to precipitate violent clashes between the authorities and marchers did not materialize. After a few days, the marchers dispersed and returned to their homes.

One of the most spectacular marches was the Bonus March. By 1932, noncommunist veterans' organizations were bringing pressure on Congress to pass a bonus bill giving cash payments to veterans of World War I. A so-called Bonus Expeditionary Force (BEF) was formed in Portland, Oregon, in the Spring of 1932 and started a march from the west coast. Veterans' groups throughout the country joined the march.

The first contingent reached Washington, D. C., on Memorial Day, 1932. The main encampment was established along the Anacostia River. In addition, several thousand marchers occupied partially demolished Government-owned buildings along Pennsylvania Avenue, near the Capitol.

At this stage, communists had little or nothing to do with the march. Actually, American communist leaders were rebuked by the Comintern for their failure to recognize and to take advantage of the revolutionary potentialities of the situation. They were instructed to capitalize on the Bonus March. Within a short time, communists were on their way to Washington from New York City, Chicago, Detroit, Seattle, Los Angeles, and other parts of the country.

From the outset, the communist goal was to obtain control of the 20,000 marchers assembled in the Nation's Capital. Oral accusations against noncommunist veterans' leaders and the distribution of inflammatory leaflets finally brought about communist domination of the marchers in early July.

By mid-July, demonstrations and disturbances took place almost daily. On one occasion, 6,500 demonstrators engaged in a near riot at the Capitol. Another time, 150 demonstrators, in their efforts to picket the White House, became embroiled in a series of street fights with police.

The situation became so ominous that President Hoover ordered United States troops to force the marchers to evacuate the Capital. On July 28, seven hundred troops, supported by cavalry and tanks, surrounded

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"Camp Anacostia" and the shacks occupied by marchers on Pennsylvania Avenue. Soldiers laid down a tear gas barrage to drive out the occupants and then set fire to the camp and shacks. In the ensuing encounters, three marchers were killed and nearly 60 were injured. One hundred and thirty-five were arrested, including 36 communists. Thus ended the Bonus March.

The Bonus March represented a signal communist propaganda victory. It enabled communists to brand President Hoover as a "murderer" of "hungry, unemployed veterans" and to characterize the Federal Government and Congress as "bloody butchers." It also permitted communists to charge that the United States Army had been used as a "tool of Wall Street" to "crush unarmed American workers."

Through the years, the march has continued to be an active expression of communist protest and demand. As previously shown, even when marches are initially conceived and sponsored by noncommunists, communists make it a point to inject themselves into the marches and lend their enthusiastic support for the propaganda benefits they can reap for the communist movement.

This was true of the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom in May, 1957, in which 20,000 Negroes and whites assembled at the Lincoln Memorial in

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Washington, D. C., where they prayed, sang hymns, and listened to speeches. The demonstration was organized by a group of noncommunist Negro leaders and clergymen to commemorate the third anniversary of the United States Supreme Court's desegregation decision and to hasten the enactment of civil rights legislation by Congress. Despite declarations of pilgrimage leaders that they did not want communist support, the Communist Party gave it gratuitously. Communist Party members were urged to attend the demonstration, to encourage others to attend, to provide transportation, and to attempt to persuade state and municipal officials to issue public statements in support of the event. Party officials gave strict warnings, however, that the Party's interest in espousing this demonstration should be concealed so that there would be no ground for any charge that the march was communist-dominated.

5. Strikes

The strike is employed by communists in their ceaseless efforts to obtain control of the American labor movement and thereby help pave the way for a communist revolution. The revolutionary and propaganda possibilities of strikes were clearly enunciated in the 1919 manifesto and program of the Communist Party, USA, in this language:

"(a) The Communist Party shall participate in mass strikes, not only to achieve the immediate purposes of the strike, but to develop the revolutionary implications of the mass strike.

"(b) Mass strikes are vital factors in the process out of which develops the workers' understanding and action for the conquest of power.

"(c) In mass strikes under conditions of concentrated capitalism there is latent the tendency toward the general mass strike, which takes on a political character and manifests the impulse toward proletarian dictatorship.

"In these general mass strikes the Communist Party shall emphasize the necessity of maintaining industry and the taking over of social functions usually discharged by the capitalists and the institutions of capitalism. The strike must cease being isolated and passive; it must become positive, general and aggressive, preparing the workers for the complete assumption of industrial and social control." (7)

The first communist strike of major importance in the United States occurred as a result of wage cuts in the woolen mills of Passaic, New Jersey, in the Summer of 1925. As soon as public notice was given to this proposed reduction in wages, an all-out communist propaganda assault began. Leaflets were printed attacking the management of the mills and a program of action was drafted.

The Communist Party sent organizers into the area and called a mass meeting for the purpose of forming a union. A committee

made up of Party members, none of whom was a textile worker, assumed control of the union. When enough millworkers were enrolled in the union, a carefully plotted strike was called. The strike began in late January, 1926. Within a short time, 12,000 textile workers in the Passaic area were tied up.

During the bitter year-long strike, communists staged a succession of militant picket demonstrations. Some of these were led by men who masqueraded as veterans by wearing World War I uniforms, helmets, and overseas caps.

Disorder and violence broke out. A communist strong-arm squad imported from New York took its place in the picket line and provoked a fight with the police. Bombs were exploded at the homes of workers who refused to join the strike.

The strike was finally settled by a compromise which restored the wage cuts and granted the right of workers to organize. The strike proved to be a source of great elation to communists for they had exhibited their ability to initiate and lead a big strike.

In the years following the Passaic textile strike, communists have initiated, led, or participated in a great number of strikes, large and

small. Some of the more important ones include the Gastonia, North Carolina, textile strike (1929); the San Francisco general strike (1934); the General Motors sit-down strike in Michigan (1937); the Vultee Aircraft strike in Downey, California (1940); the Allis-Chalmers strike in West Allis, Wisconsin (1941); the International Harvester strike in Chicago (1941); and the North American Aviation strike in Inglewood, California (1941).

Time and time again, the Communist Party, USA, has emphasized the potentialities of the strike as a preliminary to "open civil war against the state." The Party has instructed its members to take advantage of any opportunity to "force the struggle from merely economic ends into an open political struggle against the capitalist state." (8)

Whenever and wherever labor difficulties arise, the full attention of the Communist Party is immediately drawn to the disturbed area. Communist organizers, agitators, and propagandists are mobilized quickly during strikes to exploit the "class struggle," to pose as champions of the workers, and to strengthen and extend the influence of the Communist Party. These considerations are what prompted the Communist Party, in April, 1922, to make the following observations in connection with the pending strike of the coal miners:

"...A carefully conducted program of agitation and education on our part during a strike is hundreds of times more valuable to the cause of communism than years of agitation during times of inaction....

"...We must recognize the fact that every strike has revolutionary possibilities and we should take advantage of every opportunity, no matter how insignificant it appears at first, in an effort to develop the struggle into ever more militant action.

"A particular advantage is to be gained in a strike in a basic industry, such as the mining industry, where the master class always resorts to the most brutal forms of suppression and terrorism, by pointing to the class character of the government, either local, state or national. This prepares the mind of the worker for a direct struggle against the state and adds to the power and prestige of the Communist Party." (9)

Communists sought to harvest propaganda by their support of the steelworkers' strike in 1952. This was evident in an editorial in the Daily Worker:*

"This is a moment that calls for unity behind the steel workers irrespective of AFL-CIO, left-right or other differences. Much more than the economic interests of the steel workers is at stake.

"This is a fight that is bound to affect the interests of the whole working class and may have a profound influence upon the future of the trade unions. All people who hate reaction, and the powerful monopolist war profiteers that foster it, should get behind the steel workers. Their cause is the cause of all common people." (10)

*Daily Worker is an east coast communist newspaper.

There has been only one brief period in the 38-year history of the Communist Party in the United States when communists have forsworn their advocacy and use of the strike. This occurred during World War II. After Hitler's attack on the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in June, 1941, the Communist Party, USA, abided by a "no-strike" pledge for the duration of the war in order to insure a constant flow of arms and equipment to the Soviet Union and her allies. It was part of the communist "united front" tactic to win the war. With the cessation of hostilities in 1945, however, the Party revoked its "no-strike" pledge and once again reverted to its old militant strike tactics.

Although strikes are ordinarily associated with industrial strife, other forms of strikes are employed by communists to serve propaganda ends. The Young Communist League, * which was formerly the youth section of the Communist Party, USA, organized and promoted a public school strike in Chicago in 1934. The strike developed around the issue of racial discrimination. During the late 1930's, young communists organized a number of Armistice Day "student" strikes in high schools and colleges in the Chicago area. (11)

*See Appendix for citation.

"Rent" strikes by tenants against landlords to protest their evictions of families have been instigated and supported by communists. Such strikes as these are intended to foment class hatred between tenants and landlords.

"Hunger" strikes have also been resorted to on occasions. In early 1948, five communist prisoners awaiting deportation on Ellis Island went on a "hunger" strike to protest their incarceration and deportation. The prisoners fasted for nearly a week.

6. Picket Lines

Picket lines are extremely popular as communist propaganda vehicles. While picketing is most common in conjunction with labor strikes, communists employ this form of demonstration to protest the high cost of living, racial discrimination, American domestic and foreign policies, imprisonment of communists and "progressives," evictions of the poor, motion pictures abhorrent to communists, et cetera.

An around-the-clock "vigil" was maintained outside the White House by a communist front known as the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case* in an effort to secure Executive clemency for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. The Rosenbergs had been convicted of conspiring to commit atomic espionage for Soviet Russia. The "vigil" lasted fro...

*See Appendix for citation.

December 27, 1952, until January 17, 1953. The high light of this picketing was a special mass demonstration near the White House on January 5 in which 1,200 persons participated.

In June, 1954, over 400 individuals representing the American Peace Crusade* picketed the United Nations in New York City. They demanded that the United States Government stop the shipment of arms to Nicaragua and Honduras for "aggressive" use against Guatemala.

Consulates of foreign powers in the United States have been picketed on occasions by communists in the interests of international communism. Communists picketed the Italian Consulate in New York City in early 1937 to protest the participation of Italian "Fascist" troops in the Spanish Civil War. A picket line of the Civil Rights Congress was established outside the French Consulate in the same city in the Summer of 1952 to protest the arrest of French communist leader Jacques Duclos by French authorities.

Discrimination against Negroes often motivates the establishment of communist picket lines. Motion-picture theaters, grocery chains, insurance companies, and other businesses have been picketed by communists to force the hiring of Negroes.

*See Appendix for citation.

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Economic issues likewise furnish opportunities for picketing. In 1946, a roving picket line made its way through the main shopping district of Boston, where communist pickets distributed literature telling consumers not to pay higher prices. In another case, in 1951, 2,000 pickets from several communist-dominated labor unions demonstrated in front of the office of the Wage Stabilization Board in New York City against the wage freeze. Similar demonstrations opposing the wage freeze took place in 40 other cities from coast to coast.

Motion-picture theaters showing films that communists object to are sometimes picketed. The Communist Party in one city picketed and distributed leaflets in front of a theater showing the film, "Song of the South." Communists considered this picture to be "anti-Negro," and resorted to picketing to express their condemnation of the picture.

Even mothers have been enlisted to serve as pickets. In 1956, communists helped arouse mothers to protest the conversion of a strip of grass adjoining a playground in Central Park, New York City, into a parking lot for a park restaurant. Mothers parked their baby carriages in the path of bulldozers to prevent construction. The Parks Commission



finally surrendered to the "will of the people" and gave up its plans for the parking lot. The Daily Worker hailed the demonstration as a "mothers' victory."

7. Delegations

Delegations are selected groups of individuals who personally contact public officials for the purpose of presenting grievances, protests, or demands. Since the early days of the American communist movement, the delegation has been utilized as a form of demand or protest concerning any issue, domestic or foreign, which communists favor or oppose. Delegations -- sometimes forerunners of larger demonstrations -- are normally armed with petitions, appeals, or other documents in support of their protests or demands.

In September, 1937, a Brooklyn delegation, headed by a Communist Party functionary, visited the office of United States Senator Royal S. Copeland to protest a rise in milk prices. Another demonstration was held simultaneously in front of a milk plant in the Bronx.

A mass delegation of more than 1,000 Negroes and whites, led by officials of the National Negro Congress, * a communist front, appeared

*See Appendix for citation.

at the office of Attorney General Tom C. Clark in July, 1946. The delegation demanded the apprehension and prosecution of those responsible for the "lynching" of five Georgia Negroes.

In the Spring of 1948, a delegation of 1,500 persons arrived in Washington, D. C., from New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, Ohio, and Illinois to lobby their congressmen for action against proposed anticommunist legislation. Petitions containing 1,000,000 signatures demanding the defeat of this legislation were handed to Speaker of the House Joseph W. Martin, Jr.

A delegation of "Peace Partisans," led by officials of a communist front called the American Peace Crusade, visited the United Nations in New York City in March, 1953. The delegation presented an appeal to the United Nations calling for an immediate "cease-fire" in Korea.

8. Solicitations

Solicitation is an effective means of establishing rapport with the general public and of spreading propaganda. For this reason, communists have long recognized the value of this type of activity as a means of stimulating interest in communist campaigns, obtaining subscriptions to communist

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publications, and raising funds. During the Depression, the Communist Party concentrated its canvassers in working-class sections where those affected by unemployment were more receptive to communist propaganda. (12)

In 1939, Communist Party members who were working within the American Labor Party* in New York City, turned over to the Communist Party lists containing the names of thousands of "progressive" and regular American Labor Party voters in the Bronx. These lists, after a careful breakdown according to addresses, were given to various Communist Party units. Communists were mobilized to personally contact each voter. The canvassers were instructed to solicit votes for communist candidates and, at the same time, to canvass for subscriptions to several communist newspapers. They were told to explain the aims of the Communist Party and its platform on current issues and to emphasize that the Communist Party was an "American" political party leading the struggle of the workers for economic "independence."

Campaigns to obtain signatures on petitions to insure the nomination of communist candidates for public office have been common. In New York, communist canvassers have collected as many as 50,000 signatures on election petitions to place communist candidates on the state ballot.

*See Appendix for citation.

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Petitions on behalf of rent reduction, price control, repeal of legislation opposed by the Communist Party, and the release of "political prisoners" have been distributed by communist canvassers. A petition was circulated by communist solicitors in 1941 urging President Franklin D. Roosevelt to release Earl Browder by Executive action. Browder, then general secretary of the Communist Party, USA, was in prison for a passport violation.

The opinion poll is another type of canvassing which has become popular with communists in recent years. By means of polls, communists seek to "prove" that the American public approves or disapproves of certain American domestic or foreign policies or programs.

A communist front known as the American Veterans for Peace* conducted an opinion poll in 1954 in one large city. The "results" of this poll "revealed" that 70 per cent thought hydrogen bombs should be outlawed, and 81 per cent believed that the United States could obtain peace by continuing talks with major countries.

9. Boycotts

The boycott is a "passive resistance" weapon with which communists threaten or intimidate merchants or businesses in order to

*See Appendix for citation.

attain desired communist objectives. Through literature, placards in the hands of pickets, and speakers, the public is requested to abstain from purchasing specific commodities or to refrain from patronizing certain shops or businesses.

During the 1930's, the boycott of German goods in the United States was vigorously advocated by a number of communist front organizations. The American League Against War and Fascism,* an influential communist front during that period, was especially active in the anti-German boycott and was responsible for much of the propaganda against the buying of German commodities. (13)

A "Buy Nothing Day" was inaugurated by several communist front groups in New York City in 1946 to demand the restoration of price controls. Thousands of roving pickets and numerous shop gate rallies spread the message. Sympathy boycotts were instigated in San Francisco, Syracuse, Boston, and New Bedford.

In the Summer of 1948, a communist front organization in one city called for a one week's boycott on meat purchases to force down the price of meat. Picket lines were formed in front of big chain stores and

*See Appendix for citation.

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meat packers, open-air rallies were held, and housewives signed pledge cards not to buy meat and to continue to fight for price controls.

Any boycott -- communist-inspired or not -- which coincides with the Party line is immediately lauded in the communist press and is given unqualified and wholehearted communist support. Such was the case in the recent boycott by Negro riders of the transit system in Montgomery, Alabama. The Communist Party issued a statement to the effect that "all workers -- Left, progressive and conservative -- can be expected to join with the heroic Negro people and all other sincere advocates of the Constitution in full devotion to this historic struggle."

Communists have been extremely active in attempting to cause the boycott of anticommunist and anti-Russian films. "The Desert Fox" and "The Iron Curtain" are two productions of recent years which communists boycotted. "The Desert Fox," the story of Field Marshal Erwin Rommel, was condemned as "glorifying" Nazi generals. "The Iron Curtain," which exposed Soviet espionage activities in Canada during World War II, was labeled as "anti-Soviet."

B. Indoor Demonstrations

Mass meetings, debates, lectures, trials, and public hearings are representative of communist demonstrations which occur indoors.

Indoor demonstrations are characterized by more formality, less spontaneity, and smaller audiences than are usually found in open-air demonstrations. Communist propaganda tactics resorted to at indoor demonstrations are dependent upon the immediate end in view. If it serves the Communist Party's interests to transform the dignity of a courtroom or a hearing room into a circus act, then that is the tactic used. If the communist message can be more effectively delivered by stately composure and presentation, as at debates and lectures, it is done in this fashion.

1. Mass Meetings

All the dramatics and accouterments of the theater are used by communists in their large indoor mass meetings. Decorations are carefully selected and artfully arranged with the intention of stirring the audience.

Until the latter part of the 1930's, pictures of Soviet leaders, Red flags, and revolutionary slogans on banners and placards were placed around the hall. Communist songs, including the "Internationale," were sung by the audience. In the last 20 years, however, communists have taken pains to Americanize the Communist Party, USA, by excluding the

Red flag, Soviet pictures, and inflammatory slogans from their decorations. Today, red, white, and blue bunting and the American flag adorn the stage and hall. "The Star-Spangled Banner" now invariably opens every communist mass meeting or function of any size or consequence.

Traditional communist anniversaries, such as the founding of the Communist Party, USA, the Bolshevik Revolution, and the death of Lenin, furnish occasions for indoor mass meetings. Mass meetings are also usually held immediately prior to or during district or national conventions of the Communist Party. Memorial meetings customarily follow the death of an outstanding communist leader. Protest meetings of all sorts are commonplace.

After the occasion has been decided upon, a site is selected. The size of the anticipated crowd determines the capacity of the public hall or auditorium to be rented. Madison Square Garden in New York City has been the scene of the largest indoor mass meetings sponsored by the Communist Party and its front organizations. In recent years, however, the management of this famous hall has refused to lease its facilities to communists.

Sufficient advance publicity is essential to the success of an indoor meeting. Leaflets, post cards, letters, handbills, posters, telephone calls, and notices in the communist press serve to spread the word.

The occasion and size of the meeting are deciding factors in the selection of speakers -- the more important the meeting, the more important the speakers. As a rule, several speakers are considered sufficient, with one or two for shorter remarks. The speeches are filled with communist eulogies, epithets, or whatever propaganda the occasion demands, and they are always well tuned to the current communist line.

Professional singers and dancers, choral groups, skits, and community singing comprise the entertainment. Indoor mass meetings normally begin at 8:30 P. M. and end about 11 P. M.

The audiences at communist indoor mass meetings often number in the thousands. As many as 20,000 have been present at communist meetings in Madison Square Garden. From admission fees, collections taken up, and sales of literature, surprisingly large sums of money stream into the Party's coffers from mass meetings. Meetings in Madison Square Garden have resulted in profits of over $10,000.

Of all communist indoor functions, perhaps the strangest is the communist funeral. In death, communist notables become valuable propaganda displays. A lavish funeral is conducted in a large rented hall. The setting is appropriately impressive. Banks of roses -- invariably red -- surround the open casket. Guards of honor, consisting of two to four comrades, stand at either side of the casket, and change at frequent intervals. These honor guards include communist co-workers of the deceased, chosen from both white and Negro comrades. Either an American flag or a huge, black-draped photograph or portrait of the deceased, hangs behind the casket.

Favorite songs are played and sung. In most cases, there is no semblance of religion. There was an almost circuslike atmosphere at the funeral of "Mother" Ella Reeve Bloor, an old-time communist leader, in 1951. Talking, laughing, and smoking characterized the "sorrow" and "grief" of those present at her funeral.

In the eulogy, which is delivered by a high-ranking communist official, the life of the deceased is recounted; the contributions he or she made to the Party and to the advancement of communism are reviewed. Emphasis is placed on how Party members can profit from the exemplary communist life of the deceased.

Library

2. Debates and Lectures

To serve as a convenient avenue for communist propaganda, public debates, forums, and symposia are arranged or engaged in by communists, whenever possible, to present the Communist Party's position on certain subjects of current interest or concern. Besides communist spokesmen, the other participants include individuals representing non-communist organizations -- usually socialist. Affairs of this type are held in public halls or auditoriums and admission fees are charged.

No opportunity is lost at such gatherings to defend the Communist Party, USA, as a strictly "American political party." Every effort is made to picture the Communist Party as "completely independent" of Moscow and "dedicated" to the "interests" of the American people, international amity and understanding, and the "betterment" of mankind.

If the communist spokesman meets insurmountable opposition, any and all propaganda techniques are resorted to in order to extricate himself from his predicament. Name calling, evasion of the issue, distortion of fact, bold denial, or humorous attacks on the opposition are some of the favorite propaganda devices employed.

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Earl Browder, who was general secretary of the Communist Party, USA, from 1930 to 1945, participated in many debates and forums during his tenure of office. In 1935, he engaged Norman Thomas, national leader of the Socialist Party, in a debate on the subject, "Which Road for American Workers -- Socialism or Communism?" This affair occurred before an audience of 20,000 in Madison Square Garden.

A few years later, Browder appeared in a debate with George E. Sokolsky, the noted newspaper columnist, on the subject, "Is Communism a Menace?" An audience of more than 4,000 witnessed the debate. In defending the Communist Party, Browder asserted that "one must reject the nursery fable of 'the menace of Communism' because that new system can come to America only by the conscious choice of a majority of the American people." (15)

The president of the College of the City of New York and Doxey Wilkerson, a member of the national committee of the Communist Party, USA, engaged in a debate on the campus of that institution in April, 1957, before a student audience of 350. The topic was "Is the Communist Party of the United States an Asset to the Country?" Wilkerson upheld

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the affirmative. He attacked the capitalist system as being responsible for all the ills of the country and as having outlived its usefulness. Wilkerson advanced the prospect of a socialist United States which would guarantee a "truly beautiful life for all." He declared that the Communist Party is an asset to the country because it is "dedicated" and works to achieve a better life for everybody. (16)

A variation of this form of propaganda vehicle is the written debate held under the auspices of some communist publication. After the subject and the participants -- a communist and a noncommunist -- are selected, the participants are requested to return their written arguments. These are then published in the sponsoring publication.

New Masses,* a communist publication, carried the results of one such debate in 1945. The affirmative and negative positions, separated into two columns, appeared side-by-side. The participants were an official of the Young Men's Christian Association and Carl Ross, national secretary of the American Youth for Democracy,* a communist front. The subject of the debate was "Peacetime Military Training?" Ross took the affirmative in accordance with the communist line at that time.

*See Appendix for citation.

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Another modification of the debate is what is known as an exchange of letters in a communist publication. In this device, a communist and a noncommunist engage in a discussion, via letters to the editor, on a subject considered pertinent or important by communists. In an exchange of letters which was carried in New Masses in 1943, A. B. Magil, the magazine's associate editor, debated with a noncommunist as to the significance of the dissolution of the Communist International.

At the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February, 1956, Soviet leaders opened a campaign to denigrate and downgrade Joseph Stalin. The repercussions of this move were tremendous throughout the entire international communist movement. Since that time, the Communist Party in the United States has been endeavoring to convince the American people that it has completely divorced itself from the domination of the Soviet Union and is in the process of "Americanizing" itself.

In February, 1957, John Gates, editor of the Daily Worker, debated with a professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania. He attempted to explain to a student audience of 500 why communism has a future in the United States. He told how the Communist Party, USA, at its

16th National Convention a few days earlier, had taken measures to "democratize" itself and "realign" its policies and program to conform with American traditions and conditions.

Another method employed by communists to disseminate their propaganda is the lecture. In these lectures, communist leaders or apologists explain the Communist Party's position and program at meetings sponsored either by the Communist Party or by communist front organizations.

Until her imprisonment in 1955 for violation of the Smith Act, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, the number one American woman communist, was the most indefatigable and itinerant of communist lecturers. She made periodical and lengthy lecture trips to all parts of the country spreading the communist gospel.

In the last two years, communist spokesmen have been particularly eager to accept invitations to deliver lectures or to participate in debates or forums at American colleges and universities. In their appearances, communist speakers strive to portray communism and the Communist Party in the most favorable light.

Typical of such speeches was that made to students of the University of Minnesota in March, 1957, by Carl Ross, secretary of the Communist Party in Minnesota. Ross drew a parallel between Thomas Jefferson and contemporary American Marxists. He said that Jefferson applied to American society the commonly accepted and universal truths of his revolutionary age. In a similar manner, Ross contended, present-day Marxists in the United States are endeavoring to apply those principles of Marxist science that are "universally valid."

3. Trials

The utter contempt communists have for the American judicial system has been displayed time and time again since the beginning of the American communist movement. No better propaganda opportunities present themselves than trials involving leaders or members of the Communist Party. Communists regard such trials as public forums from which they can proclaim the communist ideology.

The propaganda benefits to be gained from the courtroom were first recognized at the trials of communist leaders who were arrested in August, 1922, during the national convention of the Communist Party in

Bridgman, Michigan. The Party's top echelon considered the question of the policy to be followed during these trials and concluded that advantage should be taken of the opportunity to reach the American people with communist propaganda. Charles E. Ruthenberg, then general secretary of the Party, and other communist leaders thereupon went on the witness stand to state the fundamentals of communism. The testimony they gave received extensive publicity, with the result that millions of Americans, for the first time, heard of the communist movement and its doctrines.

Communist defendants usually demand trial by jury to enable defense witnesses and their lawyers to propound communist tenets to the judge, jury, and spectators. Sometimes the defendant pleads his own case. Trials of communists arrested during periods of clashes between police and demonstrators are widely publicized in the communist press. During such trials, communists seek to use the courtroom as a means of protesting against "brutal" police methods.

The 1949 Smith Act trial in New York City affords a perfect example of communist propaganda tactics resorted to in American courts. A variety of demonstrations was utilized at this trial. The trial involved eleven members of the national board of the Communist Party, USA, who

had been indicted for violating the Smith Act. The trial began in January, 1949, and ended the following October with the conviction of all defendants. The trial was the longest Federal criminal case in United States history. Press coverage was the most complete since the 1935 trial of the Lindbergh kidnaper.

Eugene Dennis, one of the defendants, acting as his own counsel, made the opening address to the jury. He stated that he and his codefendants would show that the Communist Party "is the political party of the most forward-looking American workers -- and that it does not bear the remotest resemblance to the fantastic 'conspiracy' painted by the prosecution." (17)

The complete disrespect communists have always shown to American courts was clearly manifested in the contempt citations handed down by Judge Harold R. Medina, the trial judge. During the course of the trial, Judge Medina found it necessary to jail four of the defendants for contempt of court. The defense counsels themselves were adjudged guilty of 40 different contempts. At the conclusion of the trial, all five defense attorneys, including Eugene Dennis, were sentenced for contempt of court.

Thousands of telegrams and post cards were sent to Judge Medina by communists and their sympathizers. Within one day, after putting John Gates, Henry Winston, and Gus Hall, three of the defendants, in jail for contempt of court, he received more than 3,000 telegrams, all defamatory or insulting.

The trial was the most picketed trial in American history. Almost daily, there were communist demonstrations and picket lines in Foley Square in front of the United States Courthouse, where the trial was being held. At times, pickets numbered several thousand. Scores of policemen, mounted and on foot, had to be assigned to control the crowds.

At the 1952 Smith Act trial -- also held in New York City -- of another group of communist leaders, the Communist Party was greatly disappointed at the failure of the trial to produce as much publicity as it had hoped for. As the trial progressed and the lack of publicity became apparent, the defense strategy changed. Party leaders decided that the trial should be terminated as speedily as possible.

Communists always strive to have the final word at their trials, and so the occasion of the sentencing of communist defendants is

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invariably used by them to proclaim their innocence and to dramatize their convictions as "political prisoners."

At the 1949 trial of communist leaders, the defendants were determined to squeeze the last ounce of propaganda from the sentencings. Two of them, Gilbert Green and Henry Winston, addressed the court before they received their sentences. Green declared that he was "guilty of no crime" but was being imprisoned because of his "political beliefs." Winston stated that he stood before the judge "branded as a criminal who committed no crime whatsoever." (18) When Robert Thompson, another defendant, rose to address the court with a long prepared statement before sentencing, the judge pointed out that the court had no desire to hear a political speech. The entire text of Thompson's speech was later printed in a communist publication.

4. Public Hearings

Communist spokesmen make it a practice to appear, whenever possible, before municipal, state, and Federal committees, boards, and other bodies which conduct public hearings. In every instance, whether they request permission to testify or whether they are subpoenaed, they use these

hearings as sounding boards for communist propaganda. At these hearings, communists make every effort to present the Communist Party in as auspicious a manner as possible.

In July, 1940, Earl Browder, then general secretary of the Communist Party, USA, appeared at his own request before the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee. He expressed his opposition to the Voorhis Act, then being drafted, which was intended to compel the Communist Party to register its membership because of alleged foreign control.

Paul Robeson, the famous Negro baritone, was cited for contempt by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in June, 1956, for his conduct before that body. The hearing had been called to investigate the use of passports by communists for conspiratorial purposes. The State Department had refused to grant Robeson a passport in view of his communist associations and activities. Robeson told the Committee that communists had been "the first to die in the fight against fascism," and had "sacrificed so much for my people." (19)

In February, 1957, Eugene Dennis, a member of the national committee of the Communist Party, USA, was subpoenaed by the Senate

Internal Security Subcommittee,which was inquiring into the Party's recently concluded 16th National Convention. Dennis refused to discuss the convention but, instead, took the opportunity to denounce the treatment of the Negroes in the South.

Lillian Gates, legislative representative of the New York State Communist Party, testified at a public budget hearing conducted by two committees of the New York State Legislature in February, 1956. As a propaganda gesture, she spoke in favor of reduced taxes for low-income groups.

In 1936, Israel Amter, then organizer of the New York State Communist Party, testified at a public hearing of the New York City Budget Commission. Amter proposed that the $161,000,000 city debt to the "bankers" be cancelled. He also suggested that the police force be cut for the reason that the police occupied themselves "principally in breaking picket lines, slugging Negroes in Harlem, and other vicious practices." (20)

Even though communists are frequently denied permission to deliver formal and lengthy statements at public hearings, they are able to extract propaganda from their appearances. In February, 1947, Gerhart Eisler, a one-time Comintern representative in the United States, was

subpoenaed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Eisler attempted to make a statement but permission was refused him. The next day, his prepared statement was printed in its entirety in the Daily Worker. Among other things, Eisler sought to show that, while he was a German communist, he was not anti-American nor was he a Comintern agent. He depicted himself as a man who wanted to go home but could not because the United States Government would not allow him to do so.

5. Public Offices

Over the years, many communists have been candidates for municipal, state, and Federal office, but only a scant handful have been elected. Those who were elected, however, used their public offices as propaganda outlets. Such propaganda activities are in accordance with a statement made by the Comintern in 1920:

> "Communists elected to Congress or the Legislatures have as their function to make propaganda; to ceaselessly expose the real nature of the capitalist State, to obstruct the operations of capitalist government and show their class character, to explain the futility of all capitalist reform measures, etc. In the halls of the legislative assembly, against the sounding-board of the Nation, the Communist can show up capitalist brutality and call the workers to revolt." (21)

Typical of communist officeholders were Peter V. Cacchione and Benjamin J. Davis, who were elected on the communist ticket as

members of the New York City Council in the 1940's. Cacchione and Davis made more protestations and pronouncements, raised more controversial issues, and demanded more investigations than all other incumbents of the council combined. They managed to keep their names -- and the Communist Party -- before the people of New York City. Seldom a day passed that one of them did not make some new protest or demand, or revive an old one. Since Davis is a Negro, he consistently sought to picture himself and the Communist Party as the champions of the Negro people.

In addition to the admitted communists occupying public offices, there have been some concealed Communist Party members, as well as acknowledged communist sympathizers and apologists, who have materially aided and abetted the communist cause while holding elective or appointive office. Several individuals who served terms as congressmen in the 1930's and 1940's were especially useful as communist propagandists.

The most notorious was the late Vito Marcantonio, who was a Congressman from New York for 14 years during the period between 1935 and 1951. Marcantonio was a political opportunist and communist apologist

who, throughout his career in the House of Representatives, gave his unswerving and impassioned support to the Communist Party line on all domestic and international affairs. On the floor of Congress and on the speaker's stand at innumerable communist-sponsored rallies, he lent his prestige as a Representative and his talents as a speaker to whatever the communists advocated at the moment.

In turn, communists gave Marcantonio unstintingly of their time, energy, and money to insure his re-election. They raised funds for him, supplied him with clerical help, and printed and distributed campaign literature for him. They recognized and appreciated his propaganda value to the communist movement.

[redacted]

Both his campaign manager and his secretary were communists. DeLacy made it a practice to confer frequently with Communist Party officials and was always well versed on the communist line. Like Marcantonio, DeLacy functioned as a communist propaganda mouthpiece and faithfully followed the Party's bidding on all legislation under consideration by the House during his tenure of office.

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Carey McWilliams is a prime example of a communist sympathizer who held appointive office. He was chief of the California Division of Immigration and Housing from 1939 to 1943. Because of his sponsorship of many communist causes and his numerous affiliations with communist front organizations, the California Legislature attempted unsuccessfully to abolish his agency for the sole purpose of getting rid of him. When called before a legislative committee, McWilliams denied Communist Party membership, but admitted his agreement with communists on specific points of their program.

6. Social Functions

Communists engage in a variety of social activities not only as a source of revenue, but also as a means of increasing the intensity of the attachment of members and sympathizers to the Communist Party. These social affairs, conducted under the auspices of the Communist Party, front organizations, or communist-dominated labor unions, take place in public halls or in the private homes of Party members or sympathizers. Admissions are collected, with an additional charge for refreshments.

All kinds of social functions are held by communists, including dances, bazaars, raffles, art exhibits, lotteries, rummage sales, parties, testimonial dinners, motion pictures, variety shows, costume balls, carnivals, musicales, cocktail parties, and smokers.

Social functions are advertised in the communist press and many of them are well attended. Party members and sympathizers bring their relatives, friends, acquaintances, and co-workers. The informality and the absence of a political atmosphere at such affairs tend to develop camaraderie. It is easy for communist propaganda to be injected subtly into the entertainment provided at such social affairs or into the conversations of those attending them.

C. Other Forms of Demonstrations

Communists are always trying to bring pressure to bear, through agitation and propaganda, for or against certain government programs, legislation, judicial decisions, et cetera. Communist protests, demands, and grievances are voiced frequently in various types of communications addressed to public officials and the editors of the noncommunist press. Telegram, letter, and post card campaigns, open letters, petitions, statements, and resolutions are employed in this manner by communists.

1. Telegram Campaigns

Telegrams are used by communists to give urgency to a demand or protest. Telegrams frequently contain form messages prepared by communists to relieve people from the burden of composing their own. Often a variety of form messages is made available to the senders to give the appearance of originality and to conceal their common source.

During World War II, the Communist Party in one state prepared form telegrams addressed to President Roosevelt demanding the defeat of "reaction" in the United States, the unconditional surrender of the Axis powers, the liberation of all conquered peoples, and a "free people's" peace.

In connection with the indictment of Eugene Dennis for contempt of Congress in 1947, a notice was inserted in the communist press. This notice recommended that organizations and individuals send wires to Attorney General Tom C. Clark, congressmen, and senators requesting postponement of the Dennis case to permit sufficient time for an "adequate preparation" of his defense.

The volume of communications which pour forth in some of these telegram campaigns is tremendous. In the early part of 1948, Congress was considering the enactment of legislation to force the Communist Party and its various front organizations to register as foreign agents. The Senate Judiciary Committee by May, 1948, had received 30,000 telegrams denouncing this proposed legislation.

In the latter part of 1950, the Communist Party instructed all its districts to initiate a campaign to send 200,000 telegrams to President Harry S. Truman expressing the "people's will" for peace and outlawing the atom bomb.

Communist front organizations are usually in the forefront of communications campaigns. Prior to the execution of the Rosenbergs in June, 1953, numerous communist fronts joined in sending a flood of telegrams to President Eisenhower in an attempt to exert pressure on him to commute their sentences. Characteristically, an international communist front known as the Woman's International Democratic Federation* sent wires to the President in the "name" of 135,000,000 women in 65 countries, demanding clemency for the Rosenbergs and consideration of "new evidence."

*See Appendix for citation.

2. Letter and Post Card Campaigns

Communists and their followers are chronic and prolific writers of letters and post cards, and they are forever initiating campaigns of this sort. Post cards are frequently mimeographed by communists to insure that a great volume will be mailed.

The communist press is constantly exhorting its readers to write letters and post cards to public officials. In 1939, a communist magazine urged its readers to write President Roosevelt, congressional representatives, and the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee demanding that the arms embargo against Spain be lifted.

After the Nazi invasion of Soviet Russia in June, 1941, communists directed a stream of post cards to President Roosevelt demanding the immediate opening of a second front in Western Europe by American and British troops.

Countless letters, instigated by communists, were sent to President Truman during the 1949 Smith Act trial of communist leaders. The letters demanded that he dismiss the indictments and stop the "witch hunt" of communists and native-born and foreign-born "progressives."

After the presidential election of 1952, a "Chain-Letters-to-Ike" campaign was begun by a communist front organization. The purpose of this campaign was to secure 1,000,000 signatures on peace scrolls for presentation to President Eisenhower after he took office.

Numerous mimeographed post cards were sent from the west coast to the President in the Summer of 1953 containing the following message:

> "I join millions in hailing the Korean truce. In our common quest for peace, I urge you to help remove all threats and ultimatums in the forthcoming political conference on Korea.
>
> "Please insist on continued negotiations until peace in Korea is achieved."

During the Christmas season of 1953, the American Peace Crusade sponsored the sending of Christmas cards bearing "peace" messages to President Eisenhower and members of Congress. A short time later, this same organization circulated "Peace Packets" as part of a nationwide campaign for "Peace by Negotiation." Included in these packets was a sample post card addressed to the President urging him to continue negotiations in Berlin and Korea until agreement was reached.

Communists recommended that churches, trade-unions, and communities write or wire the White House early in 1954 to demand the withdrawal of the American Military Mission from Indo-China and a halt to all funds and shipments of airplanes to that country.

Letter campaigns emanating from abroad have sometimes been used by communists for their propaganda advantage. In the Spring of 1956, Mrs. Robert Thompson publicized a stack of supporting letters she claimed to have received from correspondents in Europe and Asia demanding that her husband's army pension be restored. Robert Thompson, a World War II veteran, had his disability pension cancelled by the Veterans' Administration following his conviction in the 1949 trial of communist leaders.

Communists are frequent contributors of letters to the editors of noncommunist newspapers, managing in this way to gain some measure of propaganda. Typical of such letters was one written by Simon W. Gerson, legislative chairman of the New York State Communist Party, to the editor of The New York Times in July, 1955. Gerson declared that the theoretical right to dissent is embodied in the Bill of Rights, but he maintained that the actual right to dissent today is, in fact, a "hazardous occupation" and is

"beset with dangers." Gerson cited the number of communist leaders who had been convicted under the Smith Act in recent years, complaining that they had been "penalized" for exercising their right to dissent.

3. Open Letters and Petitions

Communists make much use of petitions and so-called open letters for propaganda effect. These open letters and petitions, many of which are signed by persons outstanding in various walks of life, are generally sponsored by communist front organizations. Such communications are addressed to high government officials and protest or demand some action or legislation.

During October, 1952, an open appeal by 280 individuals was forwarded to President Truman requesting amnesty for Communist Party leaders convicted under the Smith Act. This appeal held that to grant amnesty to the imprisoned leaders would give "added meaning and strength" to the country's basic charter of freedom as contained in the Declaration of Independence.

A few months later, 150 women in various parts of the country signed a similar open letter to the President appealing for amnesty. The

letter stated that "to prosecute and imprison people for exercising their rights to freedom of speech and belief is contrary to the constitutional guarantees in the Bill of Rights."

In December, 1952, 88 Negro and white leaders in religion, science, education, labor, and literature directed an open letter to President-elect Eisenhower calling for an immediate end to the Korean War.

People who sign their names to communist-sponsored petitions and appeals often unknowingly allow themselves to be instrumental in advancing communism. In Ohio, in one instance, election petitions containing 40,000 signatures were collected in order to secure the nomination of Communist Party candidates for public office in that state.

In 1953, George Blake Charney, labor secretary of the New York State Communist Party, faced imprisonment for violation of the Smith Act. Despite this, nearly 10,000 persons signed a petition to place him on the ballot as an "independent" candidate for New York County district attorney.

In the Fall of 1952, an amicus curiae brief, signed by 50,000 persons, was presented to the United States Supreme Court in the Rosenberg case. The brief urged that a new trial be given the Rosenbergs.

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A petition for a "Christmas Amnesty" for Communist Party leaders convicted or indicted under the Smith Act was sent to President Eisenhower by 42 prominent individuals in 1955. The petition pleaded with the President to commute the sentences of the 16 men and women then in prison and to postpone the trial of the 100 cases pending either in trial courts or appeal courts.

4. Statements and Resolutions

Statements and resolutions are frequently issued by the Communist Party, front organizations, or communist-controlled labor unions to express their approval or disapproval of some government policy or program. Resolutions are frequently forwarded to public officials and public bodies demanding or opposing some action.

In 1927, the central committee of the Communist Party in the United States issued a statement demanding the withdrawal of American naval forces from Chinese waters and the recognition of the Chinese Nationalist Government.

A resolution was adopted by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties,* a communist front, in 1942 urging President

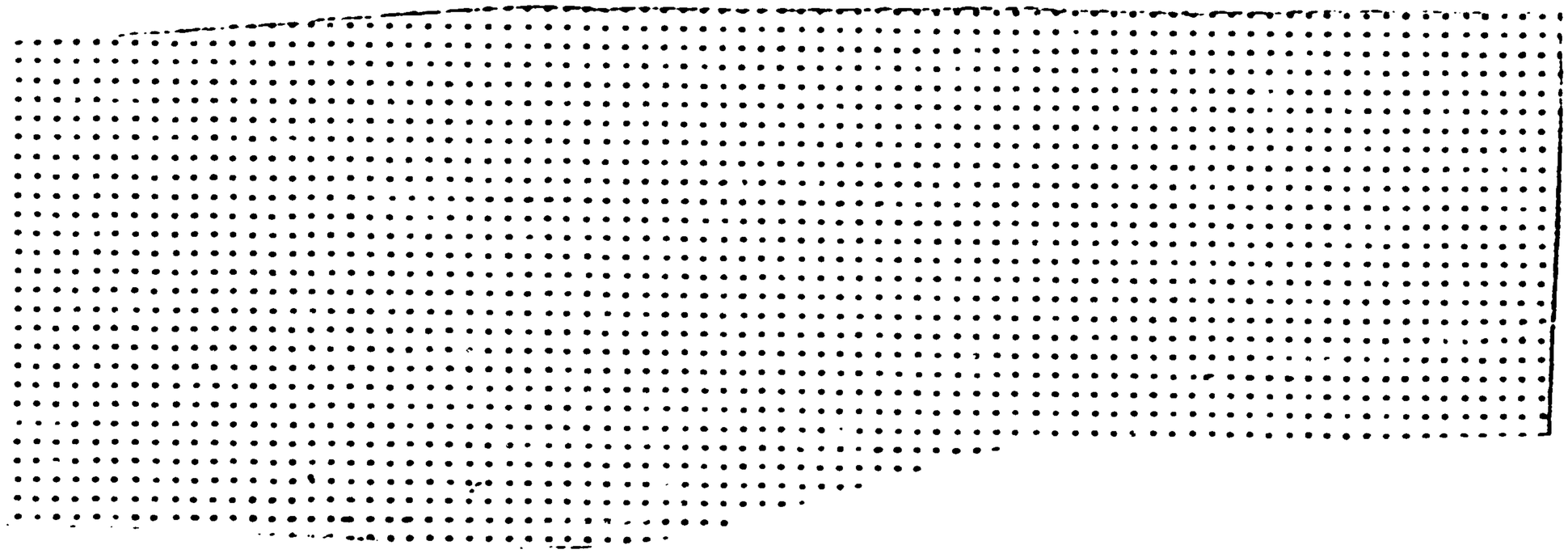
*See Appendix for citation.

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Roosevelt to grant Executive clemency to Earl Browder, then in jail for passport fraud.

A statement was submitted to the House Foreign Affairs Committee by the Communist Party in the Spring of 1948 which opposed enactment of the European Recovery Program. It was contended in the statement that this program was "aimed at building up an anti-Soviet Western bloc in order to facilitate Wall Street's drive to world domination and its preparations for a new world war." (22)

The national committee of the Communist Party, USA, issued a statement condemning the decision of the United States Supreme Court on June 4, 1951, upholding the constitutionality of the Smith Act under which eleven communist leaders had been convicted in 1949.



*See Appendix for citation.

5. Official Investigations

Communists often demand official investigations or arrests by various local, state, and Federal government agencies in connection with incidents which lend themselves to communist propaganda. Instances of racism and so-called "police brutality" afford the most frequent excuses for such demands.

The Daily Worker in July, 1946, carried a story claiming that a discharged Negro veteran, en route home, had been assaulted by a policeman in a southern city. The Daily Worker demanded that the War Department conduct an immediate investigation of this episode.

The following month, this same newspaper demanded that the Commissioner of Investigations of New York City investigate charges of "police brutality" against the Negro people in that city.

The Mississippi murder of Emmett Louis Till, a 14-year-old Negro youth from Chicago, caused a communist demand for an investigation of the "outrages" against Negro citizens in Mississippi and other southern states. Till was reportedly kidnaped and murdered in Mississippi in August, 1955. The two white men charged with his murder were acquitted after a

trial, and a grand jury later refused to indict them for kidnaping. The Civil Rights Congress, a communist front, injected itself into the case and issued a leaflet to the citizens of Chicago urging them to write the President and insist upon an immediate and thorough investigation.

Communists made propaganda out of a slum dwelling fire in Newark, New Jersey, in 1956, in which a small boy had burned to death. At a public hearing before the city council of that city, a Communist Party functionary charged that the owners of the building were responsible and called for their prosecution.

The chairman of the Illinois-Indiana district of the Communist Party sent a wire to President Eisenhower in the Summer of 1956 asking him to investigate and bring to justice the "perpetrators of force and violence" who were seeking to prevent school integration in Clinton, Tennessee.

Four months later, John Gates, editor of the Daily Worker, dispatched a telegram to Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., demanding the immediate arrest of John Kasper, who had helped foment anti-Negro violence in Clinton, Tennessee. Gates asserted that Kasper had just arrived in Montgomery, Alabama, ostensibly to address rallies of several anti-Negro organizations.

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As has been shown in this monograph, the forms of demonstrations used by communists in the United States are many, and their use, over the years, has been extensive. No type of demonstration has been overlooked or ignored by them. In all demonstrations, they keep uppermost in mind their primary objective -- that of arousing and preparing the American people for eventual revolution. Through a communist revolution, they fully expect to overthrow and destroy the capitalist system and the United States Government and establish, in its place, a communist form of government.

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SOURCES

1. U. S. Congress, House Committee on Un-American Activities, Organized Communism in the United States, House Report No. 1694, 83rd Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1953), August 19, 1953, p. 34.

2. Benjamin Gitlow, The Whole of Their Lives (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948), p. 233.

3. Harold D. Laswell and Dorothy Blumenstock, World Revolutionary Propaganda (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939), pp. 43-44, 232.

4. Gitlow, op. cit., p 289.

5. The Worker, April 28, 1946, Section 2, p. 1.

6. Gitlow, op. cit., pp. 209-211.

7. Organized Communism in the United States, op. cit., p. 36.

8. The Communist, April-May, 1922, pp. 2-3.

9. The Communist, March, 1922, p. 12.

10. Daily Worker, June 3, 1952, p. 1.

11. Laswell and Blumenstock, op. cit., pp. 50-51.

12. Ibid., pp. 55-56.

13. Ibid., p. 56.

14. Daily Worker, February 29, 1956, p. 8.

15. New Masses, April 6, 1943, pp. 18-19.

16. Daily Worker, April 5, 1957, p. 2.

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

17. Political Affairs, September, 1949, p. 25.

18. Daily Worker, March 27, 1956, p. 8.

19. Daily Worker, June 13, 1956, p. 8.

20. Daily Worker, October 22, 1936, p. 5.

21. The Communist, July 31, 1920, p. 8.

22. Political Affairs, April, 1948, p. 304.

APPENDIX

Organizations and publications listed hereinafter have been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450 or have been cited by congressional committees.

Those cited by the Attorney General have been identified with the notation (Executive Order 10450) following the name of the organization.

Those cited by congressional committees are listed in the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., on January 2, 1957. They have been identified with the page number of the Guide following the organization or publication.

American Labor Party (Guide, p. 11)

American League Against War and Fascism (Executive Order 10450)

American Peace Crusade (Executive Order 10450)

American Veterans for Peace (Guide, p. 18)

American Youth for Democracy (Executive Order 10450)

Civil Rights Congress (Executive Order 10450)

Council of Greek Americans (Executive Order 10450)

National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case (Guide, p. 60)

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (Executive Order 10450)

National Negro Congress (Executive Order 10450)

New Masses (Guide, p. 105)

Women's International Democratic Federation (Guide, p. 91)

Young Communist League (Executive Order 10450)